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COMMENTS ON PROTO-URALIC ETYMOLOGY: DERIVATIONS AND LEXEMES

Abstract. This article consists of two sections: in the first section, I provide additional evidence of the proposition made in Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 that derivational suffixes prevented the secondary lengthening of low vowels in Proto-Finnic when preceded by a single voiced consonant in an *e*-stem word. I will argue for this restriction by discussing the etymology of Estonian *mäletama* 'to remember'. In the second section, I suggest a new interpretation for the etymologies of Proto-Finnic **nälvä* 'slobber' and Proto-Uralic **tulka* 'wing, feather' as well as new etymologies for Finnish *muikea* 'sour', *muju* 'smile', *muikku* 'vendace (Coregonus albula)' and *muisku* 'kiss' deriving from Proto-Uralic **muja* 'to become happy; happiness, smile'.

Keywords: Proto-Uralic, Proto-Finnic, historical linguistics, derivation, etymology.

Etymological research of the Uralic languages has greatly advanced within the past few decades which has resulted in a very different understanding of the phonological structure of Proto-Uralic than what is used in traditional Uralic etymological dictionaries such as SSA or UEW (for an overview of the research history cf. Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2013 : 161). This article aims to add to the ongoing research by commenting on currently suggested etymologies.

The structure of this article is composed of two sections quite distinct from one another. I have decided to present these sections together as they are both based on current discussion on Proto-Uralic derivational suffixes, despite being very different topics in themselves. In the first section I present evidence of a morphophonological condition preventing the currently recognised sound law labelled as Lehtinen's Law (on the name see section 1.2). In the second section I discuss new etymological evidence for lexemes already etymologised, adding new cognates to the etymologies.

1. Proto-Uralic derivative suffixes

The first section of this article discusses the concept of preconsonantal **x* in consonant clusters and counterevidence for this highlighted by Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012, which provides a fuller discussion on

the topic. I continue Aikio's argument of a restricting condition to the lengthening of low vowels in Finnic, evident in words containing Proto-Uralic derivative suffixes.

1.1. Preconsonantal *x

In his article, Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) (2012) develops further the hypothesis first proposed by Juha Janhunen (1981), that the correspondence between Finnic long vowels and Samoyed bisyllabic vowel sequences is because of a Proto-Uralic consonant cluster including *x as the preconsonantal element, f.ex. Proto-Uralic **käxli* 'tongue' > Proto-Finnic **keeli* ~ Proto-Samoyed **käaj* (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 227).

Aikio critically evaluates the 14 etymologies provided by Janhunen that contain the preconsonantal *x. Of these, Aikio extracts four instances where a Finnic long vowel does correspond to a Samoyed vowel sequence. The common feature in these is that they have an intervocalic *-l-* in Finnic (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 227–231). Aikio gives two more examples where a Finnic long vowel corresponds to a Samoyed vowel sequence. He concludes that the correspondence between Finnic long vowels and Samoyed vowel sequences in the six highlighted instances are the result of separate innovations (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 231–232).

1.2. Lehtinen's Law

Lehtinen (1967) suggested that Finnic **ee* and **oo* are the result of a secondary lengthening where non-high vowels would have been lengthened before single voiced consonants in Pre-Finnic **e*-stems, after which long low vowels merged with long mid vowels (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 232). This sound law has been aptly called Lehtinen's Law by Pystynen (2013).

After Lehtinen the sound law was followed by Reshetnikov and Zhivlov (2011 : 97), but otherwise largely overlooked afterwards due to counterarguments to the sound law. Despite these counterarguments, Aikio demonstrates explanations for exceptions to Lehtinen's etymologies that either didn't fit Lehtinen's theory or were left out, rehabilitating the theory of secondary lengthening in Finnic long vowels (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 232–235). Aikio modifies the sound law so that "lengthening is assumed to have affected only the low vowels **ä* and **a*, and that no lengthening of **e* and **o* ever took place in Pre-Finnic. The lengthening is conditioned by a postvocalic single voiced consonant and the *e*-stem, as Lehtinen suggests" (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 233).

As this paper is to comment on Aikio's article, suffice to say that Aikio brings substantial evidence backing up the sound law (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 233–239). This also confirms Reshetnikov's and Zhivlov's suggestion that the condition for the shift **a* > **oo* in Pre-Finnic is the result of regular lengthening on **a* in Finnic *e*-stems before intervocalic **r*, **l*, **m*, **n* and **ð* (Reshetnikov, Zhivlov 2011 : 97, referred to in Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 232, 235–236).

1.3. Effect of derivatives

Aikio presents five possible counterarguments to the modified sound law (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 236–237). One case is Estonian *sälitis* (< **sälüttis*) 'burden, load', the reconstructed form being either **säli-* or **sälä-* (Aikio 2012 : 237). In Aikio's words:

"**Fi sälyttä-** 'load, put a burden on'. — According to Sammallahti (1988 : 548), this verb is a derivative of PU **säli-*, and cognate with Komi *söl-*, KhE *lel-*, *jel-*, MsE *töäl-* 'mount (a horse), board (a boat or sledge)', archaic Hung *ellik* 'mounts'; SSA doubts the etymology, but without good reason. The reconstruction **säli-* would predict a development **säli-* > **sääle-* > **seele* in Finnic. However, the reconstruction of the original stem vowel seems to be guesswork; one could equally well posit the form **sälä-* as the starting point. Moreover, in Finnic the word is only attested in derivatives such as Fi *sälyttä-* 'load' and Est *sälitis* (< **sälüttis*) 'burden, load' and the derivational suffixes attached may have blocked the vowel lengthening and raising which only took place in **e*-stems" (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 237).

Even though the word has survived only in derivatives, the condition that derivatives prevented vowel lengthening can be seen in another Finnic word, namely Estonian *mäletama* 'to remember'. The Estonian etymological dictionary (EES 2012) doesn't give an etymology for the word, only for *mälestama* 'commemorate' and *mälu* 'memory', the word *mälu* deriving from *mälestama* according to the dictionary (EES 2012 : 295). Also according EES, *mälestama* is cognate with Votic *mälehtää* 'to remember, call to mind', *mälestää* 'to remember, bear in mind' and Livonian (uncertain according to EES) *mā'dlō* 'to remember, commemorate' (EES 2012 : 295). Further cognates are Komi *malavni* 'to feel, feel about', Eastern Khanty *mäl-* 'to feel about' and Mansi *māleji* 'to feel about' (EES 2012 : 295), although the Permic and Ob-Ugric cognates' semantic connections seem dubious and the vocalism is irregular (cf. Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 239–240 on Permic vowel correspondences and Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2015 : 2 on Ob-Ugric vowel correspondences).

Instead, the Finnic words can be connected to Proto-Finnic **meeli* (< Proto-Uralic **mäli*, Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 234; see also Pystynen 2015) based on the similar conditioning factor of derivational suffixes blocking the lengthening of Proto-Finnic **ä*. On par with Aikio's theory of derivative suffixes in connection to *sälitis*, the words *mälestama* and *mäletama* also shows that derivative suffixes in fact prevented Lehtinen's Law from being realised. The word *mälu* 'memory' is a derivation from the word *mäletama* as the semantic connection is more obvious with 'to remember' as opposed to *meel* 'mind'. Had the term for 'memory' derived straight from the term for 'mind', the Proto-Finnic form would be **mälii*. However, the distribution of *mälu* is restricted to Estonian, which could point to its late origin. In addition, the vowel *u* in the second syllable also shows the relatively late development of the word, since Proto-Finnic **-ü* developed into *-i* in older words such as *käli* 'sister-in-law' (cf. Finnish *käily* id.).

2. Etymological discussions

In the second section below I suggest new cognates to be included for etymologies already presented in literature. A characteristic feature of the words is that they are formed with derivational suffixes. This is a noteworthy point to highlight, since derivation creates semantically related but independent meanings for new lexical items based on the derived stem (cf. Lieber 2004). This can result in seemingly unrelated lexical items that can nonetheless be explained by the features of the derivational suffixes themselves (Lieber 2004 : 3–4). However, Proto-Uralic derivational suffixes have not been systematically studied, preventing conclusive explanations about Proto-Uralic word formation.

2.1. Proto-Uralic derivations with stems **näli-* 'to swallow' and **tuli-* 'wing, feather'

Since the reforming of Proto-Uralic vocalism, it has become easier to notice new etymologies that previously seemed irregular. One example is the Finnic word **nälkä* 'hunger', which is listed as a Finno-Saami word in EES and SSA (EES: *nälg*; SSA: *nälkä*). However, the word has been analysed as containing a Proto-Uralic derivational suffix **-kA*, the stem **näl-* deriving from PU **näli-* 'to swallow' (cf. Pystynen 2016).

I suggest that related lexemes deriving from Proto-Uralic **näli-* and formed with derivational suffixes could be behind such forms as dialectal Estonian *nälv* 'slobber' (SSA: *nälvä*) and dialectal Finnish *näljä* 'slime, slobber, pus' (SSA: *näljä*). At least Finnic **nälvä* could point to a deverbal nominaliser **-wA* as in PU **päjwä* 'day, sun' < **päji-* 'to shine' + **-wä*, indicating a euphemistic meaning for 'sun' deriving from PU **päjiwä* 'shining' (also explaining the semantic difference of Khanty **pääj* 'thunder, lightning', see Pystynen 2016 for the suggested etymology for PU **päjwä* and its discussion). By analogy, Finnic **nälvä* would imply a semantic shift 'swallowing' > 'the liquid material being swallowed' > 'slobber' > 'slime'. Contrary to SSA, however, the Finnic derivation **nälvä* doesn't fit the Uralic cognates, which point to PU **nälmä* 'tongue, mouth' (see presented cognates in SSA: *nälvä*), another derivation of PU **näli-* (on the derivational suffix cf. PU **kali-* 'to die' and PU **kalma* 'death'). Thus, the Finnic derivation would appear to be with a separate nominalising suffix **-wA*.

The derivative suffix **-kA* is also in the Finno-Permic word for 'wing, feather' (PU **tulka* in UEW) but absent in the Samoyed word (**tuəj* by Janhunen 1981: 241). The reconstruction has been PU **tuxli* according to Janhunen, who compared it with Proto-Finno-Permic **tuuli* 'wind' (1981 : 241). The comparison is criticised by Aikio, who reconstructs the Finno-Permic word for 'wind' as **towli* (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 229, 243). This revised etymology would mean that the Finno-Permic words for 'wind' and 'wing, feather' have different etymologies and that the words have phonologically converged in Finnic due to semantic affinity.

However, there is no reason to reject the comparison of Finno-Permic **tulka* and Samoyed **tuə* as representing Proto-Uralic **tuli* 'wing, feather'. The phonetic development into Proto-Samoyed has been explained by Aikio in connection to PU **kali-* 'to die' and **tuli-* 'to come':

”As the alternation between so-called consonant and vowel stems evidently occurred already in Proto-Uralic, one expects also stems of the type *CV*li*- and *CV*ji*- to have exhibited this alternation in Pre-Proto-Samoyed. This development (**l* >) **j* > Ø might originally have taken place in intervocalic position before **ə*, whereas syllable-finally **j* would have been retained. After this, one of the two stem types would have been generalized throughout the paradigm of each word” (Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Aikio) 2012 : 246).

This explanation fits with the Proto-Samoyed word **tuə* ‘wing, feather’, as **l* would have been in an intervocalic position. Although Aikio explains the paradigmatic analogy with regard to verbal forms, the explanation is suitable also for nominal forms. Therefore, one can modify the etymology of both Proto-Finno-Permic **tulka* and Proto-Samoyed **tuə* as deriving from PU **tuli* ‘wing, feather’, where the stem evolved in Samoyedic without the derivative suffix apparent in Finno-Permic, in which the second syllable vowel of the stem was deleted.

2.2. PU **muja* ‘to become happy; happiness, smile’ and Fi **muikea* ‘sour’

Aikio reconstructs PU **muja* ‘to become happy; happiness, smile’ reflected in f.ex. Nenets *møyø-* ‘to become happy’ and North Saami *modji*, Inari Saami *moje* ‘smile’ (Aikio 2002 : 22). Even though the words for ‘happiness’ and ‘being happy’ are not in the stable part of the lexicon and are replaced by innovative expressions (Aikio 2002 : 22), there is a possible match to the etymon in Finnic languages.

According to SSA, the Finnish words *muikea* ‘sour’, *muikku* ‘vendace (*Coregonus albula*)’, *muisku* ‘kiss’, *muistaa* ‘to remember’, *muju*¹ ‘snake poison’ and *muju*² ‘smile’ are possibly connected to each other (SSA: *muikea*, *muikku*, *muisku*, *muistaa*, *muju*¹, *muju*²). However, in the case of Fi *muistaa* ‘to remember’ the Livonian cognates *moistõ*, *muoistõ* point to a Proto-Finnic **o* instead of **u*. Therefore, the Finnic etymon can be reconstructed as **muistaa* ‘to remember’, implying a raising **o* > **u* in Finnish caused by the preceding *m*, as the other South Finnic cognates can point to either **o* or **u* (Estonian *mõista*, Votic *mõissaa* ‘to understand’). This Finnic word would in turn be cognate to those presented as cognates for Finnish *muikea* ‘sour’, f.ex. Erzya *mujems* ‘to find’ (cf. SSA: *muikea*). The word *muju* ‘snake poison’ has a narrow distribution as well as unclear semantic connections to ‘sour’ or ‘smile’, which is why I will not discuss its possible origins in this article.

This leaves the words *muikea* ‘sour’, *muisku* ‘kiss’ and *muju* ‘smile’ unexplained. SSA connects *muju* with the same Saami words which Aikio connects to Samoyedic (SSA: *muju*²; Aikio 2002 : 22). Therefore, PU **muja* ‘to become happy; happiness, smile’ has additional evidence from Finnic, where it survived with the derivative suffix *-*w*. Also *muisku* can be included in this comparison due to the semantic affinity of ‘smile’ and ‘kiss’. From this perspective it is likely that *muikku* ‘vendace (*Coregonus albula*)’ could also derive from the meaning ‘smile’, since the species has a lower jaw longer than its upper jaw, distinguishing it from the similar common whitefish (*Coregonus lavaretus*).

However, the word *muikea* ‘sour’ can also be connected to PU **muja*. The Finnish *muikistaa* and Karelian *muikistoa* ‘to grin (due to a sour taste)’ show the semantic shift ‘smile’ > ‘to grin’ > ‘to grin due to sourness’ > ‘sour’.

In Karelian, Ludic and Veps this shift has further evolved into Karelian *mujoa* (: *mujan*), Ludic and Veps *mujada* 'to taste' (SSA: *muikkea*). The semantic shift is backed up by the Estonian cognate *muigama* 'to smile (contentedly)' and *muigutama* 'to move the lips and/or mouth; to taste', which are connected to the Finnic words for sour (cf. EES: *muigama*, *muigutama*; SSA: *muikkea*) and which bridge the semantic gap between PU **muj*a 'happiness, smile' and Finnish *muikkea* 'sour'. Therefore, forms can be reconstructed such as Proto-Finnic **mujka* 'smile' > **mujkattak* 'to smile', **mujkeda* 'sour (causing one to grimace)', all derivations including Proto-Uralic suffixes.

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ПАТРИК О'РУРК (Йорк)

НЕКОТОРЫЕ ЗАМЕЧАНИЯ О ПРАУРАЛЬСКОЙ ЭТИМОЛОГИИ: СЛОВООБРАЗОВАНИЕ И ЛЕКСЕМЫ

Данная статья состоит из двух разделов: в первом приводится дополнительное доказательство в пользу теории о том, что деривационные суффиксы помешали вторичному удлинению низких гласных в праприбалтийско-финском языке в словах с основой с *-e*, если им предшествовал одиночный звонкий согласный. Данное явление показано на примере этимологии эст. *mäletama* 'помнить'. Во второй части предлагается новая интерпретация этимологии прапбф. **nälvä* 'слюна', праур. **tulka* 'крыло, перо', а также рассматривается этимология фин. *muikkea* 'кислый', *miju* 'улыбка', *muikku* 'ряпушка' и *muisku* 'поцелуй', произошедших от праур. **muj*a 'стать счастливым; счастье, улыбка'.